

COLONIZATION OF FREE BLACKS.

MEMORIAL

OF

LEONARD DUGGED, GEORGE A. BAILEY,

AND

240 other free colored persons of California, praying Congress to provide means for their colonization to some country in which their color will not be a badge of degradation.

JANUARY 16, 1862.—Laid on the table, and ordered to be printed.

To the honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled :

This memorial of colored persons, natives of the United States, and residents of California, respectfully sheweth :

That in view of the many disadvantages which the colored population of the United States labor under—their being deprived of many of the most important privileges of citizenship, and denied the rights and franchises freely extended to all other native-born citizens, and also to every other class of aliens ; their being marked out, not only by law, but also by public sentiment, which is stronger or more effective than law, as an inferior and degraded caste, prevented by the force of circumstances from engaging in honorable or lucrative employments, thus being in a great measure prevented from leading a life either honorable to themselves or useful to their country—a strong and rapidly increasing feeling has grown up among a large portion of the free colored population (probably already a majority of the whole) in favor of emigration to those countries where color is not considered a badge of degradation, and has ceased to act as a barrier to honorable advancement.

While there is considerable diversity of opinion as to the best location to migrate to, some preferring Africa, some the British West India Islands, some Hayti, some South America and Central America, they all seem to agree that either is preferable to remaining under the disabilities imposed upon them in the land of their birth, and a very large majority look upon the first and last named regions, Africa

and Central America, as offering greater inducements than any other localities to the industrious emigrant. We therefore pray your honorable body to grant assistance, in such manner as you may deem expedient, to colored natives of the United States who may desire to emigrate to Africa or the tropical regions of America.

Your memorialists think that there are many good and sufficient reasons for granting such assistance, and ask permission to call your attention to a few of them.

It seems to be the settled policy of the nation, as evinced in the action of both the State and federal governments, to discountenance in every manner the increase of persons of color in their midst, and to use every legal means to induce those now here to emigrate; and there is probably no one point on which the public sentiment of every section of the country and of every class of society is so perfectly unanimous as upon this; and legislation of the severest kind has been resorted to in many of the States, both north and south, in order to promote that end. It is not the intention of your memorialists to call in question the wisdom or justice of those laws, but we may be allowed to remark that they seem to have failed entirely of the desired effect, although the white population are almost unanimously in favor of the separation they are designed to effect, and a very large majority of the colored population also. The failure to accomplish what all classes so ardently desire may be attributed to the fact that the wishes of the blacks themselves have been disregarded, and that those acts have appeared to them as measures of coercion, which it seems an instinct of human nature to resist. This accounts also for the singular state of things visible in the history and management of the American Colonization Society: while it has sought almost exclusively to propitiate the favor of the whites, and has succeeded to an unprecedented degree in securing the approbation of men of all parties, sections, and denominations, it has only been enabled, after forty years of constant effort, to plant some ten or twelve thousand blacks in Africa; while within the same period two or three times that number of fugitive slaves have made their escape, and colonized themselves in the comparatively bleak and uncongenial region of Canada. These things show that any scheme of emigration, to be successful, must be such as to commend itself to those most interested, the colored people themselves.

Your memorialists believe that the true interests of both white and black require a separation of the races; for whatever may be the difference of opinion in regard to retaining those held in slavery, all must agree that a class of persons placed in the anomalous condition that the free blacks occupy are detrimental to the best interests of the country; and any feasible plan for their removal, and the separation of such antagonistic elements, is well worthy of aid and encouragement from government. There is strong desire on the part of many to settle in Central America and in Africa immediately, and they are retarded only by lack of the pecuniary means necessary to make a successful commencement. Your memorialists believe that small appropriations, judiciously expended, will insure the success of

the first emigrants, and speedily build up a voluntary emigration that will embrace the greater portion of the free colored population. If such a desirable consummation can be reached by a little assistance and encouragement from government, it is well worth while for government to grant that aid. It cannot be doubted that the interests of both whites and blacks demand the separation. A large class of men freed from servile restraint, yet denied most of the privileges and rights of citizens—personally free, and living in the midst of a people enjoying the largest political and social freedom, yet prevented by insurmountable barriers from any participation in that freedom—are in the worst condition possible to place men, and must be detrimental to the best interests of the community among whom they are so misplaced; and when a separation can be effected without the commission of a great wrong or injustice, and by mutual consent, the interests of the community require that it should be done as speedily as possible, so that their places may be filled with those capable of becoming incorporated with the great mass of citizens.

We approach your honorable body, therefore, with confidence that the justice and reasonableness of our prayer will recommend it to your favorable consideration; more especially as it has been the settled policy of the government to remove those classes of inhabitants who are incapable of becoming incorporated with the mass of the population, as instanced in the numerous tribes of Indians, many of whom have been removed at government expense, and granted small annuities in their new homes to aid and encourage them to make progress in civilization; and this, too, in view of the fact that those Indians have generally been hostile and at war with the United States, while the negro has been a faithful and trusty servant, and in many instances has received his freedom as the reward of faithful services. Your memorialists would respectfully suggest that a faithful servant is entitled to at least as much consideration as a bitter enemy, and a sum equal to that appropriated for the removal and annuities of Indians would doubtless be amply sufficient for every purpose; and there can be no question but that it would be productive of more benefit to the country and to the civilized world, as it would be devoted to the development of a race which does not dwindle before the march of civilization, but is industrious, and has proved itself susceptible of every improvement.

Taking it for granted that the interests of both parties require this separation, we think Africa and the great interoceanic routes through Central America the most desirable locations, for various reasons, among which may be mentioned the fact in relation to Africa, that the history and experience of Liberia and Sierra Leone demonstrate that such settlements or colonies are the only feasible means for effectually suppressing the African slave trade—a trade which the United States government was the first to interdict to its citizens and brand as piracy. To which may be added the fact that three centuries of abortive efforts on the part of various powers of Christendom to subdue and colonize the African continent, as America was subdued and colonized, furnish a demonstration that the only

feasible way to introduce Christianity and the improvements of modern civilization to the populous regions of the interior is by establishing settlements or colonies of this kind, composed of persons of kindred race, with whom the natives can become identified as fast as they attain the necessary qualifications; and thus a new, rich, and extensive field may be opened to the trade and commerce of the manufacturing and maritime nations. Among the inducements offered by Central America may be mentioned the fact that many could be more readily induced to go from its ease of access and the regular and speedy manner in which constant communication can be kept up through steam navigation with friends at home. Leaving out of view the benefits which would accrue to the emigrants and to the country whose resources they would help to develop, it is evident that the United States would gain important advantages from having on those important thoroughfares so large a number of the only portion of her population who are likely to stand the climate or be acceptable to the native inhabitants.

For these and many other weighty considerations which might be mentioned, we pray your honorable body to grant such pecuniary aid and encouragement as you may deem advisable to promote the emigration of free colored resident natives of the United States to Africa or the tropical regions of America; and your petitioners will ever pray.

Leonard Dugged
George A. Bailey
Henry E. Worke
L. A. C. Young
Edward D. Vincent
William Coffee
John Coffee
Adolphus F. Wells
Noah Dixon
Charles Handy
David Wills
W. F. Dover
Wm. T. Nicholass
J. M. Whitfield
J. J. Pindell
A. P. W. Pindell
Richard Trotter
John Cooper
S. Cooper
E. Cooper
William Hilton
William Robinson
William Hyer
Samuel Hyer
Robert Hyer
Lott Henderson

C. Henderson
C. H. Johnson
U. Dixon
John Campbell
Henry Carter
Robert White
Leonard Foster
Benjamin Tate
J. Tate
M. Scott
Ritchie Scott
N. Logan
Charles H. Delvecchio
A. M. Talbot
Robert Talbot
Thomas Posey
Abdallah McAlfrey
Simon P. Clark
M. E. Clark
L. Washington
B. C. Taylor
K. C. Sparks
Charles G. Tash
Daniel C. Bucker
John H. Jones
John Carter

Wellington C. Parick
 George B. Patrick
 James Underwood
 William Underwood
 James Underwood
 William Bell
 S. T. Bell
 James B. Sullivan
 James C. Worthington
 Henry Storum
 Peter Anderson
 Richard Schofield
 Samuel Brown
 Samuel Grooms
 Randall Cesar
 J. Holland Townsend
 William H. Newby
 John Plummer
 Reuben Taylor
 Henry Jackson
 Henry Quonn
 George C. Miller
 Henry Dangerfield
 H. N. Jones
 M. R. Campbell
 R. M. Robinson
 Loyd Howard
 William Ellis
 Richard R. Jones
 John C. Wilson
 R. Boardley
 Silas Baker
 E. A. Baker
 P. L. Dalton
 Henry T. Jones
 Richard Phillips
 William Philips
 James Phillips
 Timothy Phillips
 M. S. Phillips
 Benjamin Coger
 Cornelius Cogan
 L. Phillips
 S. S. Queen
 Charles P. Queen
 Owen W. Brown
 Columbus Sewell
 David Vincent
 John Scott
 James Wineberry

Henry Joseph
 Henry Bailey
 L. Bailey
 L. B. Hill
 Edward P. Dupler
 G. R. Lymes
 James Butler
 James Cozzens
 James B. Barker
 Robert Talbot, jr
 F. Whitfield
 Joseph Whitfield
 J. Daver
 M. Manuel
 Washington Dill
 George B. Williams
 Samuel Johnson
 Alexander Williams
 R. M. McCulloch
 S. M. Anderson
 M. J. Coffee
 S. R. Coffee
 E. M. Wilhelm
 Peter Wilhelm
 James Anderson
 Edward Flamer
 Charles Holland
 Edward Johnson
 Isaac Joseph
 Henry Murphy
 Charles Brown
 M. H. Taylor
 William Taylor
 Benjamin Robinson
 Peter Lee
 Peter Crouch
 Daniel Mills
 M. K. Cozzens
 Martin Gaines
 William Bird
 Charles J. Graham
 William Holmes
 William Qualls
 A. D. Qualls
 George Dover
 Marshall Sedgwick
 William Scott
 Henry Scott
 Moses Burton
 John T. Jones

John H. Butler
 Edwin S. Ward
 Louis A. Kelley
 Joseph Wood
 James G. Wayne
 Nathaniel Cristopher
 Robert M. Tidball
 Richard Stokes
 Samuel Cuney
 Isaac Johnson
 Richard Isaacs
 Henry Dixon
 Thomas Detter
 Ralph Williams
 Green Givings
 S. Overson
 M. Overson
 L. Johnson
 M. A. Griffin
 A. S. Gale
 Stephen Gale
 Benjamin B. Young
 Albert Smith
 Charles Postle
 A. Reagan
 C. Reagan
 Charles Bell
 Henry Ankler
 D. L. Parker
 William H. Foote
 M. Parker
 C. K. Frost
 Henry Frost
 Henry C. Coffee

Alexander Lamon
 Truman P. Hill
 M. J. Johnson
 A. E. Johnson
 H. Johnson
 J. Taylor
 William H. Yates
 William Holmes
 H. H. Graham
 M. A. Cobbs
 M. C. Moxley
 S. A. Gale
 Richard Saunders
 Thomas Saunders
 Charles Gaines
 Edward Harmer
 Thomas Harmer
 John J. Hall
 Richard Chapman
 Reuben Taylor
 Cornelius Butler
 Hope Butler
 Sanford Ritchie
 Charles Sanford
 Henry T. Johnson
 Leonard Grass
 Richard Turner
 John Mitchell
 James Bell
 Wm. A. Jackson
 Lewis Gross
 Samuel Waggnier
 John Boardly
 James C. Jackson.

